

POLS 340: International Security

Dr. Benjamin Denison

Fall Semester, 2019

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Class Hours: MW 9:30-10:45

Class Room: 145 DeBartolo Hall

Course Description

This course examines international security, generally considered the causes and consequences of political warfare and conflict. We will read and discuss theories of international security across different issue areas and engage empirical and theoretical work about the causes and consequences of modern security issues. We will look at both theoretical and issue area debates about important security issues throughout the world. What are the causes of war? Is war less likely today and if so why? Are nuclear weapons a force for conflict or peace? Does terrorism or climate change pose a stronger threat to world security? At the end of the class, you will be able to engage critically scholarly and policy debates in international security. Students will also be able to evaluate relevant theories of international security to assess their applicability to historical and current events. By participating in this course you will improve their critical writing and public speaking skills, while also working to understand deeper debates in international politics and security studies.

Course Objectives

Students will leave this course able to:

1. Know and evaluate various theories of political warfare and conflict.
2. Apply international relations theories to various security events and crises in the world.
3. Understand the changing meaning of security in the 21st century.
4. Write concisely and sharply about international politics.

Required Readings

There are no required books to purchase for this class. All readings can be found online from the library or downloaded from the class Sakai page.

Grading

- Take home Midterm 15%
- Policy Op-Ed 1 15%
- Policy Op-Ed 1 15%
- In-Class Debate 15%
- Final Paper 30%
- Class Participation 10%

Please note that late assignments **will not** be accepted. In the case of excused absence in accordance with university policy, please speak with the professor to find an acceptable alternative.

Assignments

- **Final Paper:**

The main assignment for the course is to write an original 15-page final paper. There are two options for the paper. Students may either 1) write a 15-page policy white paper analyzing current threats to international security or 2) write a 15-page original research paper about any of the themes covered in the course. Students must meet with the instructor by October 31st to discuss their topic. Double spacing with standard 12-point font and 1 inch margins is required.

- **Policy Op-Eds:**

Throughout the semester, students will be required to submit two 800 word op-eds in the style of the [Monkey Cage](#), [War on the Rocks](#), [The National Interest](#), or other online websites or blogs. Each blog will relate the week's readings to a current issue in the news and focus on how policymakers should think about these issues. Students can pick any two weeks to submit their assignments. We will discuss these assignments in more depth after Class 2.

- **In-Class Debate:**

During the semester, we will hold an in-class policy debate of future American Grand Strategy. The class will be split into 4 or 5 teams, and be responsible for both an original presentation of their preferred grand strategy but also answering questions from the instructor and other teams. Grading for this assignment will depend not solely on the oral presentation, but peer assessment during the preparation. More information will be given as we approach the debate.

- **Take Home Midterm:**

After Week 5, there will be a short take home exam on the theories, concepts, and readings we have done so far, including the origins of World War One. The exam will consist of three short essay questions that should each range 500-750 words in length. Students will be expected to turn in their exams at the beginning of the following class.

- **Participation** Participating in class discussion is key to a successful learning assignment. As such, part of your grade will depend upon reading and discussing the material in class. Students should expect to be called upon and be ready to answer questions about the weeks' reading material. In light of this, students are encouraged to write a few discussion questions that arise from each reading and be ready to discuss them if called upon. I recognize that speaking in large groups can be troublesome for some, so if there is an issue, please do not hesitate to meet with me outside of class to discuss how we can make our classroom a successful learning environment.

Attendance and Tardiness

Students are expected to attend all classes, save in the case of illness, family emergency, or university-excused absence. Late/missed assignments without a valid excuse will not be accepted. Students are expected to arrive in time for class as late arrivals are disruptive. More than 3 unexcused absences will result in your grade being lowered by a full letter grade.

Academic Integrity

All students must abide by the Notre Dame Honor Code: All students must abide by the Notre Dame Honor Code: "As a member of the Notre Dame community, I will not participate in or tolerate academic dishonesty." Details are available at <http://www.nd.edu/hnr-code/docs/index.htm>. Please note that academic dishonesty (including plagiarism and unauthorized multiple submissions of work for assignments) will not be tolerated and will be punished in accordance with university policy.

Accommodations

I am strongly committed to working with students who require any reasonable accommodations that they are able to fully participate in class activities. If you require a reasonable accommodation, please follow the process through <http://sarabeadisabilityservices.nd.edu/> and I will work with you to find a suitable solution.

Class Schedule and Reading List:

Class 1 (M): Introduction

- Freedman, Lawrence. "International Security: Changing Targets." *Foreign Policy* 100 (1998): 48-63.

Class 2 (W): What is Security?

- Stephen M. Walt, "The Renaissance of Security Studies," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 35, No. 2. (Jun., 1991): 211-239.
- David A. Baldwin, "Security Studies and the End of the Cold War," *World Politics* Vol. 48, No. 1 (October 1995): 117-142.
- Roland Paris, "Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?." *International Security* 26, no. 2 (2001): 87-102.

Class 3 (M): Levels of Analysis, Anarchy, and Hierarchy

- Kenneth N. Waltz. 1959. *Man, the State and War: A Theoretical Analysis*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1-15.
- Kenneth Waltz, "The Anarchic Structure of World Politics," in Robert J. Art and Robert Jervis, *International Politics*, 9th edition, pp. 29-49. New York: Pearson Longman.
- David A. Lake. "Escape from the State of Nature: Authority and Hierarchy in World Politics." *International Security* (2007): 47-79.

Class 4 (W): Security Dilemma and Offense-Defense Balance

- Robert Jervis. 1978. "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma." *World Politics* 30(2): 167-214.
- Charles L. Glaser and Chaim Kaufmann, "What is the Offense-Defense Balance and Can We Measure It?" *International Security*, Vol. 22, No. 4. (Spring, 1998): 44-82.

Class 5 (M): Structural Theories of War I

- Kenneth N. Waltz, "The Origins of War in Neorealist Theory," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18, no. 4 (1988): 615-628.
- John J. Mearsheimer. 2001. *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 334-347.
- Robert Gilpin. 1981. *War and Change in World Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1-50.

Class 6 (W): Structural Theories of War II

- James Joll. 1984. *The Origins of the First World War*. New York: Longman, 42-68.
- Dale C. Copeland. 2000. *The Origins of Major War*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 56-117.

Class 7 (M): State Theories of War I

- John M. Owen "How Liberalism Produces Democratic Peace." *International Security* 19, no. 2 (1994): 87-125.
- Sebastian Rosato, "The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory," *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 4 (2003): 585-603.
- Jack Snyder. 1991. *Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 21-55.

Class 8 (W): State Theories of War II

- Jack Snyder, "Civil-Military Relations and the Cult of the Offensive, 1914 and 1984." *International Security* 9, no. 1 (1984): 108-146.
- Keir Lieber, "The New History of World War I and What It Means for International Relations Theory," *International Security* 32, no. 2 (2007): 155-191.

Class 9 (M): Sub-State Theories of War

- Robert Jervis. "Hypotheses on Misperception." *World Politics* (1968): 454-479.
- Daniel L. Byman and Kenneth M. Pollack, "Let Us Now Praise Great Men: Bringing the Statesman Back In," *International Security* 25, no. 4 (2001): 107-146.
- Elizabeth N. Saunders. "Transformative Choices: Leaders and the Origins of Intervention Strategy." *International Security* 34, no. 2 (2009): 119-161.

Class 10 (W): World War I and the Causes of War

- Watch 2015 Laura Shannon Prize Lecture with Sir Christopher Clark on *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914*. 2013. New York: Harper Collins. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1xlOjIk6xbU>
- L.C.F. Turner. 1970. *Origins of the First World War*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 112-115.
- Review previous weeks' readings related to World War I

Class 11 (M): Nuclear Weapons I

- Kenneth N. Waltz, "Nuclear Myths and Political Realities," *American Political Science Review* 84, no. 3 (1990): 731-745.
- Scott D. Sagan, and Kenneth N. Waltz. 2013. *The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: An Enduring Debate*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company. Chapter 2.
- Mark S. Bell. "Beyond Emboldenment: How Acquiring Nuclear Weapons Can Change Foreign Policy." *International Security* 40, no. 1 (2015): 87-119.

Class 12 (W): Nuclear Weapons II

- Nina Tannenwald. "The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Normative Basis of Nuclear Non-Use." *International Organization* 53, no. 03 (1999): 433-468.
- Francis J. Gavin. "Same As It Ever Was: Nuclear Alarmism, Proliferation, and the Cold War." *International Security* 34, no. 3 (2010): 7-37.
- Keir A. Lieber, and Daryl G. Press. "The New Era of Counterforce: Technological Change and the Future of Nuclear Deterrence." *International Security* 41, no. 4 (2017): 9-49.

Class 13 (M): Grand Strategy and American Foreign Policy I

- Eugene Gholz, Daryl G. Press, and Harvey M. Sapolsky. "Come Home, America: The Strategy of Restraint in the Face of Temptation." *International Security* 21, no. 4 (1997): 5-48.
- Stephen G. Brooks, John G. Ikenberry, and William C. Wohlforth, 2012. "Don't Come Home, America: The Case against Retrenchment." *International Security*, 37, no. 3 (2012): 7-51.
- Barry R. Posen. 2014. *Restraint: A New Foundation for US Grand Strategy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, pp 1-23.

Class 14 (W): In Class Debate - Grand Strategy and American Foreign Policy II

- How should America structure its foreign policy and grand strategy for the 21st century?

Class 15 (M): Constructivism and Security

- Alexander Wendt. "Anarchy is what states make of it: The social construction of power politics." *International organization* 46, no. 2 (1992): 391-425.
- Elizabeth Kier. "Culture and Military Doctrine: France between the Wars." *International Security* 19, no. 4 (1995): 65-93.

Class 16 (W): Identity and Conflict (Take Home Mid-Term Due)

- Roger D. Petersen. 2002. *Understanding Ethnic Violence: Fear, Hatred, and Resentment in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 10.
- Jelena Subotic. "Narrative, Ontological Security, and Foreign Policy Change." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 12, no. 4 (2016): 610-627.
- Ron E. Hassner, "To Halve and to Hold": Conflicts over Sacred Space and the Problem of Indivisibility." *Security Studies* 12, no. 4 (2003): 1-33.

Class 17 (M): Civil War and Humanitarian Intervention

- James D. Fearon. 1998 "Commitment Problems and the Spread of Ethnic Conflict." In David A. Lake and Donald Rothchild, eds., *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict: Fear, Diffusion, and Escalation*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, pp. 107-126.
- Nicholas Sambanis. "What Is Civil War? Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48, no. 6 (2004): 814-858.

- Barbara F. Walter, "Designing Transitions from Civil War: Demobilization, Democratization, and Commitments to Peace." *International Security* 24, no. 1 (1999): 127-155.

Class 18 (W): Armed Statebuilding and Occupation

- Tony Judt. 2006. *Postwar: A history of Europe since 1945*. New York: Penguin, 41-99
- David M. Edelstein. "Occupational Hazards: Why Military Occupations Succeed or Fail." *International Security* 29, no. 1 (2004): 49-91.
- David A. Lake. 2016. *The Statebuilder's Dilemma: On the Limits of Foreign Intervention*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Introduction and Chapter 4.

Class 19 (M): Terrorism and Non-State Threats

- Andrew H. Kydd and Barbara Walter. "The Strategies of Terrorism." *International Security* 31, no. 1 (2006): 49-79.
- Audrey Kurth Cronin. "How Al-Qaida Ends: The Decline and Demise of Terrorist Groups." *International Security* 31, no. 1 (2006): 7-48.
- Austin Long. "Small is Beautiful: The Counterterrorism Option in Afghanistan." *Orbis* 54, no. 2 (2010): 199-214.

Class 20 (W): Weak States and State Failure

- Seth G. Jones. "The Rise of Afghanistan's Insurgency: State Failure and Jihad." *International Security* 32, no. 4 (2008): 7-40.
- Kimberly Zisk Marten. "Warlordism in Comparative Perspective." *International Security* 31, no. 3 (2006): 41-73.
- James D. Fearon, and David D. Laitin. "Neotrusteeship and the Problem of Weak States." *International Security* 28, no. 4 (2004): 5-43.
- Geoffrey Swenson. "Why US Efforts to Promote the Rule of Law in Afghanistan Failed." *International Security* 42, no. 1 (2017): 114-151.

Class 21 (M): Airpower and the Revolution in Military Affairs

- Eliot A. Cohen. "A Revolution in Warfare." *Foreign Affairs* 75, no. 2 (1996): 37-54.
- Robert A. Pape. "Coercive Air Power in the Vietnam War." *International Security* 15, no. 2 (1990): 103-146.
- Daniel R. Lake. "The Limits of Coercive Airpower: NATO's" Victory" in Kosovo Revisited." *International Security* 34, no. 2 (2009): 83-112.

Class 22 (W): Iraq, Afghanistan, and Counterinsurgency

- David Kilcullen. "Counter-insurgency redux." *Survival* 48, no. 4 (2006): 111-130.
- Jonathan Monten. "The Roots of the Bush Doctrine: Power, Nationalism, and Democracy Promotion in US Strategy." *International Security* 29, no. 4 (2005): 112-156.

- Paul K. MacDonald. "Retribution Must Succeed Rebellion': The Colonial Origins of Counterinsurgency Failure." *International Organization* 67, no. 2 (2013): 253-286.
- Jacqueline L. Hazelton. "The "Hearts and Minds" Fallacy: Violence, Coercion, and Success in Counterinsurgency Warfare." *International Security* 42, no. 1 (2017): 80-113.

Class 23 (M): Environmental Security

- Thomas F. Homer-Dixon. "Environmental Scarcities and Violent Conflict: Evidence from Cases." *International Security* 19, no. 1 (1994): 5-40.
- Cullen Hendrix, "Climate Change and the Syrian Civil War" at *Political Violence at a Glance*. Available at: <https://politicalviolenceataglance.org/2017/09/19/climate-change-and-the-syrian-civil-war>
- Idean Salehyan. "Climate change and conflict: Making sense of disparate findings." *Political Geography* 43 (2014): 1-5.

Class 24 (W): Gender and Security

- Carol Cohn. "Sex and death in the rational world of defense intellectuals." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 12, no. 4 (1987): 687-718.
- Valerie M. Hudson, Mary Caprioli, Bonnie Ballif-Spanvill, Rose McDermott, and Chad F. Emmett. "The Heart of the Matter: The Security of Women and the Security of States." *International Security* 33, no. 3 (2008): 7-45.
- Dan Reiter. "The Positivist Study of Gender and International Relations." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59, no. 7 (2015): 1301-1326.

Class 25 (M): China

- John J. Mearsheimer, "Can China Rise Peacefully?" *National Interest*, October 25, 2014. Available at: <http://nationalinterest.org/commentary/can-china-rise-peacefully-10204>
- Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth. "The rise and fall of the great powers in the twenty-first century: China's rise and the fate of america's global position." *International Security* 40, no. 3 (2016): 7-53.
- Stephen Biddle and Ivan Oelrich. "Future Warfare in the Western Pacific: Chinese Antiaccess/Area Denial, US AirSea Battle, and Command of the Commons in East Asia." *International Security* 41, no. 1 (2016): 7-48.

Class 26 (W): Russia

- Joshua R. Itzkowitz Shifrinson. "Deal or No Deal? The End of the Cold War and the US Offer to Limit NATO Expansion." *International Security* 40, no. 4 (2016):7-44.
- Mary Elise Sarotte. "A Broken promise: What the West really told Moscow about NATO expansion." *Foreign Affairs* 93, no. 5 (2014): 90-97.
- Michael McFaul, Stephen Sestanovich, and John J. Mearsheimer. "Faulty powers: Who started the Ukraine crisis." *Foreign Affairs* 93, no. 6 (2014): 167-178.

- Kimberly Marten. "Putin's Choices: Explaining Russian Foreign Policy and Intervention in Ukraine." *The Washington Quarterly* 38, no. 2 (2015): 189-204.
- Andrej Krickovic and Yuval Weber. "Commitment Issues: The Syrian and Ukraine Crises as Bargaining Failures of the Post-Cold War International Order." *Problems of Post-Communism* (2017): 1-12.

Class 27 (M): Current Threats

- Readings will be announced after consultation with class on preferred topic